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Nan-fang Jih-pao.

CCP PARTY-REFORM MOVEMENT IN SOUTH CHINA

On 28 August 1952, the South China Subbureau, Central Committee, CCP, announced in an article in the Canton Nan-fang Jih-pao that a directive had been in various organs of South China. On 2 September 1952, this Canton organ of the CCP carried a report on party-reform and party-building drawn up at the first meeting of the South China Subbureau convoked to consider the strategy of reforming the CCP in South China.

This report, divided into two parts, viz., (1) On the Problem of Party-Building and (2) On the Problem of Party-Reform, gives considerable detail on dissident views held by party members in Kwangtung organizations and methods for reforming and strengthening functional party units. The reform, lagging behind similar movements in North and East China, is expected to revive units said to be weak and in critical need of new blood. Only 6-10 percent of the officials in local organs are CCP members.

The full texts of the article on the directive and the report on party-reform and party-rebuilding follows:

A. Article on Directive for Party-Reform and Party-Building

Recently, the South China Subbureau, Central Committee, CCP, issued a directive entitled "The Program for Effecting Indoctrination Toward Party-Recommend Party-Building." The major emphasis of this directive was placed on the great need for indoctrinating the rank and file within and outside the CCP in party-reform and party-building.

The directive pointed out that in light of the proposals submitted during the organization and construction phases of the Three Antis Campaign and the motions made at the recent high-level party representative conferences held in Canton, that study is the most critical problem facing the rank and file within and outside the party. From reports presented at the high-level party representative conferences it is evident that there are a large number of functionaries who neither study nor lead the masses to do so.

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After having gone through the Three Antis Campaign, the directive continued, the political demands of the intra and extra-party cadres have reached unprecedented heights; all levels of party leadership must make adequate plans to meet these demands. They must lead the rank and file toward study programs. If this is successful, a fundamental change will appear.

The directive also pointed out that from September to December 1952, all South thina areas must draw up plans and schedules for organizing and effecting indoctrination in "Communism and the Communist Party" in factories, government agencies, schools, and rural villages as designated. Essentially, this will be indoctrination in party-reform and party-building and will be the most important component of all theoretical and political studies to be undertaken in the last half of 1952. It will be considered a serious error if officials on any level of the party apparatus merely concentrate their energies on the expansion of party membership rolls and neglect the problem of indoctrination in Communism and the Communist Party.

With regard to the question of study among cadres, the directive stipulates that all organizations in Kwangtung on the same level of, or above, local party committees and special offices must, by the end of 1952, complete plans for the organization and effectuation of indoctrination in party-reform and party-building. These organizations must ensure that during this 4-month period, at least 8 hours in every week will be set aside for study and an additional 3 hours for discussions on study. The directive also states that all organizations on the same level of, or above, local party committees and special offices must classify all cadres under three categories so that studies may progress.

Category One will consist of CCP cadres operating on the section level or below, nonparty cadres who (1) earnestly seek to join the CCP and (2) have certain entrance qualifications, (including activists of the China New Democracy Youth Corps). Comrades with short revolutionary backgrounds, with a relatively low political awareness, and even those with the rank of Section Chief who show deficiencies in organization, discipline, living habits, and training will come under the latter category and must concentrate on their studies. Leadership personnel from all levels must personally attend school. The four major systems in Canton shall be (1) the Canton Municipal Party Committee and the Municipal Government, (2) the apparatus of the Kwangtung Provincial Government, (3) the South China Finance Committee, and (4) the South China Subbureau, Central Committee, CCP. Each system shall set up and operate schools.

The curriculums of the schools will include the basic tenets of the Party Constitution and the eight standard requirements to be met by a member of the Communist Party. These shall be synthesized into three lectures: (1) "The Communist Philosophy of Life." (2) "Benefit to the Individual Always Follows Benefit to the Party," and (3) "The Style of Work of the CCP." (For convenience, the presentation of the above-mentioned topics in four distinct lectures is permissible.)

Category Two will consist of party cadres operating on the hsien section level and above and all party cadres whose cultural backgrounds are on the junior high-school level and above. Their lecture courses will include "Methods of Party-Reform and Party-Reidding," "Laws, Cases, and the Decisions Concerning Certain Deviationists in the Party," and "The True Nature of the Bourgeoisie and the Decision on Bourgeois Ideology."

Category Three will consist of all nonparty cadres in the various organizations of South China. In compliance with their unanimous demands to study the same material assigned Categories One and Two, the directive has stipulated

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that this category be integrated with those above-mentioned for joint study. One or a group of separate executive agencies will make up a study unit to which will be appointed, from the party committees under the four major systems of Canton, and administrative officer commissioned to lecture on "Communism and the Communist Party."

The three above-mentioned categories will be assigned documents and pamphlets for study and discussion in the period September - December 1952. The directive stipulates that courses on how to indoctrinate workers, peasants, students, and members of the land-reform corps in "Communism and the Communist Party" will be given.

To unify and systematize the study program for 1952 so that cadre-training activity can be started in 1953, the directive states that during the last 4 months of 1952 if there is no special need, there will be no revision or supplementary announcement of any other theoretical and political study program. This program will carry out, among cadres in all organs in Kwangtung on the same level of, or above, local party committees and special offices, the fixed number of courses in "Communism and the Communist Party."

B. Report on Party-Reform and Party-Euilding

This report was submitted at the First Party-Members Representative Conference of organs under the South China Subbureau, Central Committee, CCP, by Ch'u Meng-chueh, Depury Director, Organization Department, South China Subbureau.

1. Problem of Party-Building

a. Great Significance of Expanding Party Membership

The Central Committee, the Central-South Bureau, and the South China Subbureau, CCP, have directed that it is imperative to expand party membership aggressively. Upon the conclusion of the Three Antis Campaign, the major and most critical political responsibility to be met was the expansion of the party -- a responsibility of great and manifold significance.

First, the aggressive expansion of party membership was designed to meet the demands of a changing environment and a new historical task. After liberation, all China experienced 3 years of social revolution (land reform, democratic reform, the suppression of counterrevolutionaries, the Three Antis, and the Five Antis Campaigns). The tasks of large-scale economic and cultural construction now lie before us. Although land reform in Kwang-ung has not yet been fully realized, by the winter 1952 or the spring 1953, it shall be successfully concluded and in the spring 1953 the task of construction will be at hand.

To meet the oncoming task of large-scale construction, the pressing needs are to expand party membership aggressively, fill out the ranks of the party, strengthen the operational procedure of the leadership in all spheres of construction, and ensure, thereby, the beneficent fulfillment of the momentous historical task. The bases of the party -- the subordinate units of the subbureau -- are currently weak: in some agencies the ratio of party members to nonparty workers is only 6-10 percent. In other agencies, where party members had been "pressed into service," they were retrogressive in ideology and errant in style of work.

During the Three Antis. Campaign, certain agencies purged party cadres who were corrupt and decadent but have been unable to secure adequate replacements. In these agencies the party branches have been unable to attain

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extensive liaison with the masses and have been unable to mobilize the appropriate reinforcements for operation. These agencies are in critical need; excellent activists must be enrolled in the party and new blood must be infused to strengthen party foundations and improve party effectiveness. Consequently, the aggressive expansion of party membership has become the major and most critical political responsibility to be currently met by the party.

Second from the Youth Corps and the rank and file working in subordinate agencies of the subbureau a large group of activists has emerged
during the 3 years of practical work and in the training, investigation, and
indoctrination attendant upon the series of reform movements -- the Resist US,
Aid Korea, Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries, and the Three Antis and
Five Antis Campaigns. The class consciousness of these activists is very
high; they stand close to the party, and their demands to enter the party are
adamant. Not a few individuals -- a great many Youth Corps members and even
ordinary workers -- desire to join the ranks. They all complain about the
party's "closed door" and demand that the party open the door.

There are some activists who, aware that the doors of the organs are tightly shut, prefer to go to the Korean front or to engage in land reform in the rural areas so that they can enter the party at the firing line and in the heat of the struggle. Many activists, having read in the newspapers or having heard at this First Party-Members' Representative Conference that party membership will be expanded, were elated. Their pleas to join the party were intensified. In addition, knowledge and understanding of the ideological level, the political orientation, and the historical background of these activists have already made advances. Under such conditions, it is not only imperative, but axiomatic for us to expand party membership aggressively.

b. Strategy and Policy of Expanding Party Membership

According to the directives of the Central Committee of the Central-South Bureau and the South China Subbureau, CCP, henceforth the expansion of party membership must follow the course of aggressiveness tempered with sober caution. The following statement was made by Comrade Ch'ien Ying in his report at the First Party-Member Representative Conference of organs under the South China Subbureau, Central Committee, CCP:

"Aggressiveness is merely the series of preliminary acts attendant upon effecting expansion of the party with constant care. When trained activists have been discovered, from among them candidates for entrance should be selected, the activists should be virtually seized and the name-lists of candidates expanded. They should be indoctrinated conscientiously in Communism and the Communist Party.

"Sober caution is merely maintaining the eight standard requirements of a Communist Party member and using them with adequate direction, planning, and system. Thus, one canno aggressively expand the party by lowering party standards through 'pressing into service' and 'meeting enrollment quotas' nor can one change sober caution into negativist hesitancy and abjure expansion. In a word, aggressiveness is the affirmation of sober caution and the maintenance of standards of party membership. If we aggressively and creatively develop and employ the rules of the party, we will be able to realize the beneficent fulfillment of the task of party expansion."

What qualifications are necessary for party membership? According to the statement of Comrad Ch'ien Ying, they are: "character perfect in every respect and a pure background; aggressiveness in work-tasks and a

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resolute fighting clan; a progressive not not the outside an one peace to class; a close connection with ani tips in otherwise to the unities and has right style of work and concern for the public and disregard the object sonal."

An activist who possesses these five qualifications, who has gone through indoctrination in the basic tenets of Gommunism and the Communist Party, who understands the eight standard requirements of a Communist Furth, member, possesses the qualifications for party mathematics of a Communist Furth, of the eight standard requirements of a Communist Party member is, in fact, an understanding of the party program and the Party Constitution. File is in complete accord with the articles of the Party Constitution. As the A China Organizational Activities Conference, a resolution on the expansion of party membership defined six types of programs who cannot be exceeded in the party.

To comprehend the strategy and pelicy of party expansion, we must oppose the following kinds of errors:

(1) Glosed-Door and Secrecy

The viewpoint of "closed-loor" and "secrecy" must be apposed. To keep the eight standard requirements of a Communist Farty member secret 1 not the proper way to raise the standards of purty members. In speaking of the members of the Youth Corps and the rank and file, some party cadres say: "An intellectual must train and study 5-10 years before he has reached the level of party admission," and "It is not so easy to meet the eight standard requirements." Consequently, the rank and file have come to believe that. "Without performing a miracle, one cannot eater the party," and "My work in only medicare and I have made no great contribution to the cause; it will be difficult for me to enter the party. One past be a model worker of the caliform of No Chien-hain before permission to granted to raise the party."

The members of our party take but one look at the Youth Corps members and the rank and file operating in the organs, and promptly remark that not one could meet the requirem has of the expansion program. All Youth Corps members and the rank and file ranking in the Translation Office want to become party members but not one like been selected. Four remarks embrace the concept of perfection and national target and process whose invalle has a ground is unsuitable, cannot enter the party.

This leads Youth Corps unders to remark: "Since I now five a merchant's family, I cannot hope to enter the party," (Con born in a lead-load's family could not date to think of "Joining," " there I was born and raised in the family of a buresuret-sourcelist, I must propely on?" girl ill imperialism has been crushed before for center the party, has low on way-now defects but the requirements of the date of a liftiguity of peach."

Some commades do not appeare a person with the provide is basic, but carefully weigh the minor markers of his deportment. Despite for fourth stage -- the stage of criticism of the Basic Anti- Takapaig limit inappropriate emphasis on defects in whom matters of deportment less was activists who sought to enter the party to rock that they had not none personal faults and were far too inadequate to meet the eight standard requirements. They would not again dame ask to join the party.

Other commades entrace pure-cultural and pure-scales concepts. They say that personnel who do old dobs have a low cultural level and personal status and must not, therefore be personal status and must not, therefore be personal.

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This leads supernumeraries to say: "A cadre will find it easy to enter the party, but since the cultural level of a supernumerary is low, how is he to enroll?"

(2) Neglect of Party Activity

The mode of thought which disregards party activity must be opposed. Many comrades, as well as a small number of cadres in responsible posts, say that their task is to promote projects and that party activity has nothing to do with them, that it is a matter for the few, and that it is for the lower-level comrades and cadres who are especially assigned to organizational work. Ordinarily, they do not organize their daily living procedure, do not pay their monthly dues on time, and do not carry out party branch work-expansion and will be unwilling to carry out the assignments in this work given them by the party branches. At present, this is the most serious deviation from and the foremost stumbling block to party-building. In addition, they oppose, or are unwilling to recommend, new blood; they fear being held responsible.

(3) Negativist Hesitancy and Bureaucracy

Negativist hesitancy and bureaucracy must be opposed. In the last 3 years, our party expansion has been very small. This has been due to the fact that Kwangtung is a newly liberated region: conditions are complex and the original party foundations are weak. If a higher level of problem solving and organization reform in the original party units is not reached, large-scale party expansion in Kwangtung will not, and should not, be undertaken. But we have done very little work preparatory to party-building. We do not aggressively investigate, examine, indoctrinate, and train candidates. This is erroneous. It is negativist hesitancy. This negativistic attitude will absolutely not be tolerated.

In addition, many activists have demanded to enter the party but we have neither investigated nor examined them nor attempted to grasp clearly their ideological, political, and general personal backgrounds. They have not been indoctrinated -- not even trained. We have assumed a bureaucratic posture and labeled their demands as unreasonable. The activists have lost hope and are discontent; they dare not rely on the party for help. Henceforth, these attitudes absolutely will not be tolerated.

(4) Errors of Pressing Into Service and Meeting Enrollment Quotas

We must not repeat the errors of "pressing into service" and "meeting the enrollment quotas." During the Resistance War, the third period of National Struggle, and the early stages of the Liberation, party organizations in Kwangtung underwent, in the course of party expansion, a universal reduction in the standards of party membership because of the mistakes inherent in the purely-numerical approach of "pressing into service" and "meeting the enrollment quotas." This approach has introduced gross impurities into the modes of organization and thought of the party. This historical lesson must be grasped in its entirety; it is an error that must never be repeated.

c. Steps and Techniques for Expanding Party Membership

According to the directives of the Central Committee, the Central-South Bureau, and the South China Subbureau, CCP, expansion of party membership must advance through three stages. These are as follows:

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Selection of Candidates

Candidates should be selected from among activists, control gations should be maintained, and careful and comprehensive investigations should be effected. After each unit has selected a group of candidates, it must draw up a name-list; a further refinement must be made by each unit; i.e., from the list, a smaller number of candidates must be selected. When candidates are chosen, care must be taken to investigate their personal histories and mode of thought to comprehend clearly their political orientation and degree of class consciousness. The list will then be set.

The procedure for selecting good candidates is (1) choose the best in each cell after a cell discussion, (2) forward the names to the branch for examination and approval, and (3) report to the party committee for deliberation on each case.

(2) Indoctrination in Communism and Communist Party

Indoctrination in the eight standard requirements of a party and by continuous investigation of his degree of class consciousness and political orientation. The forte of the activist is his aggressive desire to
join the party; but many have ulterior actives and have a vague concept of
Communism and the Communist Party. Their motive in seeking to join is persome maintain that there is neither food nor promotion for those outside the
party.

A small number of Youth Corps members demand to enter the of these persons have only a vague concept of the glory, the grandeur, and the infallibility of the party. They lack a clear awareness of the essence, aims, organization, discipline, and style of work of the party. They embrace every type of vague concept (for example, they ask: "Iny is the Communist Party the party of the proletariat rather than the party of the intelligentsia?")

In effecting indoctrination in Communism and the Communist Party we must, in addition to enabling members to grasp the basic principles of theory, emphasize criticism and self-criticism, criticize all types of vague concert and incorrect motives for entering the party, and enable candidates to perceive clearly the nature of Communism and the Communist Party so that they can build a correct revolutionary philosophy of life. The implementation of indoctrination in Communism and the Communist Party is an important stage in party expansion. This indoctrination must be turned into a mass-type movement and must oppose the purely organizational approach.

(3) Procedure for Entering Party

The procedure for entering the party is as follows: Upon matter, the candidate's application is forwarded to the brunch and finally submitted to the party committee for approval. The party committee will then send an organization officer to interview the candidate after which the decision for party entrance will be made. This procedure for entering the party shall comply with the relevant stipulations in the Party Constitution.

When each candidate has gone through the procedure for entrance, everything relevant shall be deliberated and an application for final approval shall be made to the party committee. All candidates will *then

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participate in the party-entrance ceremonies to expand the influence of the party, to indoctrinate the masses, and to improve the procedure for the next group of candidates in the party expansion program.

We must concentrate on improving the techniques of party expansion. First, we must regularize the indoctrination and investigation of candidates. In stressing indoctrination in Communism and the Communist Party for the two candidate groups during 1952, investigations must continue. When they are indoctrinated in the study cells, their mode of thought and degree of class consciousness must be probed and their personal histories and political proclivities must be investigated. The rank and file must also be led to examine and investigate the candidates' backgrounds.

Second, prior to convocation of the branch congress (which will discuss the entry of new party members), there must be thorough preparation. The branch committee must draw up preliminary conclusions concerning each candidate and submit them to the branch congress for deliberation. During the deliberations, the qualifications of each candidate shall be weighed in the light of the eight standard qualifications of a Communist Party member.

Third, prior to the discussion with the party-committee organization officer, a careful and detailed research and analysis of the qualifications of each candidate must be undertaken. The crucial and most important questions of each candidate's background, which require deep examination, must be sought for from every avenue of approach. This will ensure that the salient features of the candidate's background will be the sole basis for examination during the interview. After one or two interviews, all ambiguities can be clarified and resolved. To ensure well-conducted discussions with the candidate, the interview techniques of both the branch party-committee officer and the party-committee organization officer must be adopted and integrated.

d. Key to Completion of Party Expansion

(1) Revive Entire Branch Apparatus

Branch secretaries and committee members who are unfit for their posts must be dismissed and others elected. Cadres who are developing politically, who are strong in principles, who are agressive and responsible, must be selected for work in the branches. Units with many party members and with a relatively heavy requirement in party expansion must use all available cadres to do party work in posts to be specially designated.

(2) Strengthen Leadership

The party committee should draw up a plen for party-building and must unify party thinking, regularize inspection and supervision, promptly disseminate experiences gained, uncover problems, and correct deviations.

(3) Improve Responsibility on Each Level

Responsible administrative party cadres on each level must personally carry out assigned duties and must act in a responsible manner while implementing investigations, guidance, and supervision.

(4) Entire Party Must Attend to Duties

Every party member must participate in party expansion activity. If a member discovers a group of activists engaged in a discussion, he must help and lead them in study. The branches must assign to each party

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member party-expansion duties; these duties must be completely understood by each party member. Party expansion is the major task of a party member. Henceforth, it must become the regular responsibility of each party member to build the party, to carry indoctrination in Communism and the Communist Party to the rank and file, to train candidates, and to improvise wisely on the rules of party-building.

2. Problem of Party-Reform

The Three ...tis Campaign has been the most practical and penetrative movement yet directed toward party-reform. All party members have undergone an intensive examination. A small number of decadent and corrupt elements, who could not be saved, have been exposed and expelled from the party. Many members under suspicion -- corrupt, decadent, lavish, wasteful, bureaucratic, lawless, undisciplined, nondiscriminating, and erroneously oriented, as well as those susceptible to bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology -- have been irvestigated and criticized. Most misgivings concerning their thinking and organization have been dispelled through party-reform. But doubts and ambiguities remain relatively numerous among cadres in Kwangtung party organs. Our party-reform work during the fourth stage of the Three Antis Campaign was in-

The most important problems remaining are:

- a. Organizational Problems
 - (1) Impurity of Personal Histories

Within the party, as a result of defeats in guerrilla battles and the ruin of party organizations in Kwangtung, there have developed such grave phenomena as lose of contact with the party, deviation from the party line, and even participation in antiparty organizations. The re-enrollment policy was not strict and questions in personal histories were multiplied. Consequently, there are now many questions in the personal histories and method of party enrollment of certain members.

(2) Inflexible Handling of Personal History Records

The personal history records of party members are still not handed over to those concerned.

(3) Delay in Punishment of Wreckers

The eight types of wreckers found in the party during the Three Antis Campaign have not yet been tried and punished.

(4) Class-less Approach to Party-Building

In the past, party-building activity in Kwangtung did not adopt a class approach. The avenues by which many members entered the party are still not clearly known and their party tenure is uncertain.

(5) Delay in Punishment of Party Members

The questions of party discipline uncovered during the Three Antis Campaign have not yet been resolved by proper punishment.

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b. Ideological Problems

(1) Vague Concepts Among Party Members

As a result of deficiencies in political and ideological indoctrination within the party and the "pressing into service" and "meeting the enrollment quotas" during party-building in the past, many party members are now retrogressive in their thinking, deficient in class consciousness, and vague in their views of Communism and the Communist Party. The phenomena of self-interest and gain, as well as individualism, have reached a critical stage. These members will be of little use as the vanguard of the revolutionary masses.

(2) Superficial Criticism of Members' Thought Patterns

During ideological criticism in the fourth stage of the Three Antis Campaign, criticism of bourgeois ideology was empahsized but there was no penetrative investigation -- in accordance with the spirit of the eight standard requirements of a Communist Party member -- of the prevalent thought patterns. Therefore, there are still many questions with regard to patterns of thought which have not been fully criticized.

For example, doubts still remain with regard to all sorts of twisted thinking on basic knowledge of Communism and the Communist Party, such as, localism, blind dogmatism, unprincipled wrangling, disunity, "peaceful family-style living," wantonness, deficiencies in criticism and self-criticism, neglect of studies, slighting of political matters, abnegation of an organized mode of living, landlord ideology, and discontentment.

Because of these matters, our task of party-reform is still critical and in our organs party-reform should receive more emphasis than party-building and elicit a great expenditure of energy. In continuing to implement this planned and systematic party-reform, we must take more precise steps toward resolving the above-mentioned organizational and ideological problems and fully complete the task of party-reform. These steps are as follows:

a. Study of Eight Standard Requirements

Universal study in the eight standard requirements of a Communist Party member should be implemented by party members. During this study, universal criticism and self-criticism should begin. They should also criticize all types of twisted thinking, rectify knowledge, raise their level of awareness, and draw a clear line between the party and the masses.

b. Submit Personal Histories to Authorities and Investigate Ideology

After going through this study and having grasped the essence of the eight standard requirements of a Communist Party member, party members should implement the forwarding of personal histories and the investigation of ideology:

(1) Submit Personal Histories

Those party members who have not jet handed over to the party their complete personal history, will do so at once. The emphasis must be placed on submitting records of important doubts, political questions, type of party enlistment and duration of party tenure, and all secret questions. For each primary question in personal histories which were submitted in the past as well as recently, a search must be undertaken.

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(2) Investigate Ideology

The important aspects of ideological investigation are: (a) all kinds of twisted thinking with regard to knowledge of Communism and the Communist Party, (2) the Communist way of life (the spirit maintained from the notivation-for-entering the party through the protracted period of struggle), (3) localism, blind dogmatism, uprincipled wrangling, and disunity, (4) the ideological sources of discontentment with work, (5) slighting of political matters, neglecting studies, and complacency toward progress, (6) unorganized living, de-emphasis on carrying out work assigned by the branch, and the egotistical habit of failing to pay party dues on time, and (7) landlord ideology.

The above-mentioned modes of thought must be, in accordance with each concrete case, intensively and thoroughly probed (those cases already investigated during the construction stage of the Three Antis campaign need not be reinvestigated). Criticism and self-criticism must be initiated in the calls and written confessions drawn up (organ surveillance need not be reimposed). Those backward elements who fail to advance even after indoctrination and criticism must not be hastily ejected from the party; indoctrination and investigations should continue and, if uns disfactory after sometime has elapsed, they should be given punishment.

(3) Investigate and Adjudicate All Organizations Uncertainties

Probe and try all organizational uncertanties, viz., the salient features of one's personal history, party record, party tenure, mode of party entry, record of party disciplinary action, political questions, and even questions of wrecking activities within the party. If the uncertainties are relatively simple and easily resolved, the member can be punished while being retained in the organ. If the uncertainties are complex and so problematical that they cannot be resolved at once, the member can be sent to a party school and his case handled through investigation. The disposition of uncertain cases through investigation requires the eventual draft of a written decision.

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